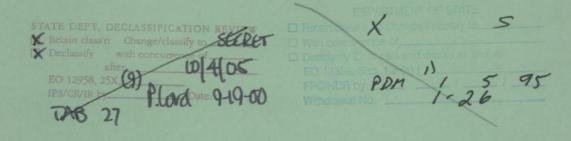
STATUS OF BERLIN
CONTINGENCY PLANNING

Prepared by:

QUADRIPARTITE CONTINGENCY COORDINATING
SUBGROUP



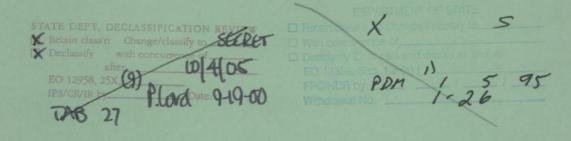
BQD - CC 1 (Fourth Revision)
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TOP SECRET

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- 1. The attached chart is an interim status report of Berling contingency planning prepared at the request of the Ambassadorial Group for its use and to assist Governments in considering various questions covered therein. It has not been approved by any government, although it reflects government positions where specifically indicated. It supersedes the draft distributed on November 1, 1961. Since that time each section has to some degree been revised. The revision of Section III Harassment Within Berlin has been minimal pending receipt by the Subgroup of the full results of the study of the Section in Bonn and Berlin, where it was sent October 2 for examination and in some cases application as appropriate.
- 2. Future revisions of the chart will contain more detailed references both to military operations and to military countermeasures. Detailed planning in these two fields has not as yet been carried to the point where it can be integrated into the chart. The principal purpose of the references in this report is simply to note that these factors will have to be considered in dealing with the contingency. Planning is proceeding urgently, however, and it is anticipated that it will be integrated in due course. Maritime control measures, in addition, are still being considered in stages preliminary to any specific inclusion in contingency plans. References to all these matters in the chart are not intended to prejudge the manner in which they may eventually be integrated in the
- 3. It is clear from the chart that there are a number of outstanding points on which it would be desirable to get quadripartite agreement, and accordingly it is recommended that Governments review their positions to this end,
- 4. Governments are already making preparations necessary to enable them to carry out countermeasures. It is hoped that these preparations will be pressed ahead as rapidly as possible. It is recommended that the Ambassadorial Group be kept informed as preparations are completed for the use of particular measures so that a quadripartite status record may be maintained in this regard.
- Consideration will have to be given to how NATO should further be brought into contingency planning.
- 6. The chart is a very sensitive document. It should be handled with special care and detailed records should be kept of the whereabouts of each copy.

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C. Bleckage of Both Allied and German Ground Access, Air Access Being Open D. Bleckage of Both Allied and German Ground Access, Air Access Being Open
D. Blockage of Both Allied and German Ground Access, Air Access Being Closed
TIT HAD COMMENT AND COMMENT AN
III. HARASSMENTS WITHIN BERLIN

ii

	A.	Interference With Allied Access to East Berlin 1. Harassment But Not Denial of Allied Access to Foot Burk
		1. Harassment But Not Denial of Allied Access to Fact Review
		1. Harassment But Not Denial of Allied Access to East Berlin
	B.	Interference With West German and West Berliner Access to East Berlin
		1. Further Restriction on But Not Denial of France West Comments of West C
		1. Further Restriction on But Not Denial of Entry of West Germans and West Berliners to East Berlin
		2. Denial of Entry of West Germans and West Berliners Into East Berlin
		1. East German Psychological, Economic or Political Harassment of West Berlin
		2. East German/Soviet Move to Seize West Parlin by France of West Berlin
IV.	SOV	2. East German/Soviet Move to Seize West Berlin by Force, or Harassment by Military Means
	A.	IET POLITICAL MOVES
	- 0	Turnever of Access Control to the GDR

ii

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ANNEXES

Minor Counterneasures										A 4
Major Countermeasures	•								•	Annex A
Countermeasures for Interference	with	Ai	r A	cce	**				·	AMMEA D
The Intergonal Manage				000	00	•	•	•	•	Annex C
The Interzonal Trade Agreement .	•	•	•	•						Annex D
Countermeasures for Blockage of Either Allied or German Land Access										
Adm Access D.S.			•	•	•	•	•	•	•	Annex E
Air Access - Relevant Texts and Instructions (to be expanded)										Annex F
Status of Preparations and Studies on Raising the Berlin Issue										
in the UN	•	•	•	•	•		•	•	•	Annex G (In preparation)

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11-9-61

Crisis	Responses	Countermeasures	Status of Decision	Comments
I. INTERFERENCE WITH AIR ACCESS TO BERLIN				Comments
A. Harrassments not affecting flight safety	In addition to responses to specific contingencies listed below, the follow- ing general responses will obtain:			The treatment of Sections I A-E assumes that ground access is still open. Section I F treats the case of attempts to halt air access already being closed
	Continue present civil and itary flights;	mil-	Agreed	
	Fighter aircraft excluded from air corridors on pol- litical grounds but legal right to do so maintained;		Agreed	
	Continue current practice of flying high FRG govern- ment officials in military transport under instruc- tions to avoid if possible landing in East Germany		Agreed current practice.	
l. Continued Sov- iet/GDR demands that Allied traffic be lim- ited to Allied gar- rison needs.	Rejection on the grounds that Allied use of the corridors is unrestricted, using among other argu- ments contained in August 26 Three Power notes to USSR (Annex F.)	None	Agreed among Four Powers	
In accordance with GDR radio law of Aug- ust 1, 1961.	Civil airline pilots, when queried by GDR radio, should identify themselves and state flight proceding to (from) Berlin in accordance with plan filed in BASC. Military pilots make no reply.	None	Agreed among the Three Powers	
	+	TO	P SECRET	11-9-61

11-9-61

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Development	in	the
Crisis	1	

Countermeasures

Status of Decision

Comments

3. GDR demand that airlines register their radios under the August 1 law.

The demand should be rejected with the argument that Allied flights in the corridors are not subject to any form of GDR control.

Protest to Soviet Controller. Prepared statement is quad-A protest to the Soviet Government if non-compliance is declared punishable by physical interference.

ripartitely agreed. (See Annex F). Decision on pretest would be made at the time at the appropriate level.

B. Harassment affecting flight safety but short of downing an aircraft.

1. Administrative (without use of ferce).

Take countermeasures in the travel and air traffic fields US, France and Germany on (Annex C) when civil airline operations are halted.

This is the position of the countermeasures. The UK will consider at the time. NATO has agreed that "in the event of the Seviets enforcing a partial interdiction of NATO air traffic (civil or military) to or from West Berlin, the three measures listed /Annex C/ constitute an appropriate response, it being understood that, if this situation arese, the Council would at once meet to decide what action should be taken." NATO also agreed "that the Governments will make without delay the necessary plans to enable them to implement these measures ... " *All except Canada

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Crisis	1	

Countermeasures

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Developments	in	the	
Crisis			

Countermeasures

Status of Decision

Comments

Continue civil flights as long as practicable from flight safety view. If airlines and/or technical authorities determine regular civil flights are unsafe or impractical, the following will apply in addition to specific responses listed for separate contingencies:

Continue civil flights on reduced scale with military air crews in uniform. (Flights on this basis may be instituted for individual airlines.) General Norstad at his discretion may fly probe flights without passengers.

Policy on continuing civil flights is agreed by US, UK and France.

UK-US agreed position. For the present the UK would only be able to fly civil aircraft probes without passengers. UK discussions are still in progress on the legal, financial and administrative arrangements for flying UK civil aircraft with passengers and military crews. French position is: shift to unescorted transport while continuing a few civil flights without passengers with requisitioned civilian crews as long as military transports meet with no opposition. Decision to shift to military aircraft will be taken by the French Government.

US and UK consider General Norstad has discretion. French position is: Shift continuing a few civil flights without passengers with requisitioned civilian

Tripartite agreement is being sought.

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Supplement such flights with military transports as practicable and necessary to maintain traffic as required.

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Developments	in	the	
Crisis			

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Develop	ments	in	the	
C	risis			

Countermeasures

Status of Decision

Comments

Civil and military flights under operational control of JACK PINE Command Post.

Take action to prevent hijacking (armed guards and locked cockpits) of civil aircraft with military crews.

Fighters placed on air alert at corridor entrances, if circumstances require.

Before flights initiated Governments through Ambassadors in Bonn in consultation with the Federal Government issue statement on following lines. Because of Soviet/GDR action the governments of the US. UK and France have found it necessary to take some additional measures in the exercise of their responsibility for safe continucrews as long as military transports meet with no opposition. Decision to shift to military aircraft will be taken by the French Government.

US, UK and French agree for Tripartite agreement being military flights. French reserve position on civil flights.

US and UK agree General Norstad has discretion. French no objection.

US and UK agree General Norstad has discretion to implement on basis of JACK PINE II.

French position: Decision to use fighters for indirect protection will be taken by governments with announcement.

US and UK agree. French position under consideration.

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Military subgroup is considering the question of advance preparation of a statement. (BQD M9) Tripartite agreemente being sought.

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Developments	in	the
Crisis		

Responses Countermeasures

Status of Decision

Comments

ation of air traffic to Berlin. Accordingly, the governments concerned will take appropriate measures to achieve this, including as necessary, the provision of fighter protection, and in some cases, military crews to fly civil air transport. The three governments hold the Soviet Union responsible for any incidents which follow.

French Approach Shift to military transport. Continue civil flights without passengers on reduced scale with requisitioned civilian crews.

French position: shift to unescorted transport while continuing a few civil flights without passengers with requisitioned civilian crews as long as military transports meet with no opposition. Decision to shift to military aircraft will be taken by the French Government.

a) Soviet/ GDR insistence that commercial air operations, as distinct from Allied military operations, be the subject of regular agreements.

This demand should be rejected, since all Allied air operations have an equal right in the corridors.

Protest to Soviet Controller. Decision on protest would be A protest to the Soviet Gov- made at the time at the apernment if non-compliance is propriate level. declared to be punishable by physical interference.

b) Soviet refusal to guarantee flight safety for a particular flight or flights.

Proceed with flight or flights, if airlines willing. If they are not, proceed in accordance with initial response in IB1.

A protest to the Soviet Con- Same as above. troller, possibly followed by protest to Soviet Government.

- 5 -

Developments	in	the
Crisis		

Responses Countermeasures

Status of Decision

Comments

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A protest to the Soviet Con- Same as above. troller, possibly followed by protest to Soviet Government.

Developments in the		- 6 -		
Crisis	Responses	Countermeasures	Status of Decision	2
c) Soviet refusal to guarantee flight safety of further flights.	Same as above.	Same as above.	Same as above.	Comments
d) Soviet withdrawal from BASC.	Western controllers make statement to Soviet con- troller.		The responses are tripar- titely agreed (BERCON TRI D-11b) except for the pub-	This eventually could occur at any time as a deliberate
	If so instructed by their POLADS, controllers will inform Soviet Controller concerning substitute channels for passing flight information. Dollar income the public statement. Text is agreed of statement to Soviet controller.	Soviet move to end civil ai transport, as a retaliation for restriction on movement of Soviet personnel in West Berlin, etc. It might well occur, in any case, when the Soviets sign a peace treaty		
	If so instructed by their POLADS, controllers will request Tempelhof ATC to inform Allied pilots airborne or about to take off that Soviets have left BASC.			with the GDR. Further study is being give quadripartitely in Bonn to other ways of dealing with this contingency.
	Deny entry to any East German replacement.			
	Put into effect agreed method of passing flight information. Issue public statement and consider note to the Soviet Government.		A text from which a state- ment and note can be drawn is quadripartitely agreed.	
e) A number f possible actions re open to the GDR/oviets whereby the	A protest to the Soviet Controller or the Soviet Government, depending on the seriousness.		Decision to be taken by Governments at the time.	
Darridors would be de- lared unsafe for use ithout an explicit	Issuance of a public state- ment.		Same as above.	
arring of flights.	Consider demanding alter-		Same as above.	

Developments in the		- 6 -		
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Developments in the Crisis	Pana			
	Responses	Countermeasures	Status of Decision	Comments
aircraft firing practice in the area are typical.	access per se and not these corridors.			Comments
2. Soviet/GDR measures to endanger flight safety by ECM activity.	Improve VFR capability in area and institute newest ECCM equipment and procedures.	Countermeasures should be taken commensurate with the severity of the harassment Possible electronic coun- termeasures on our part are	Agreed by US and FRG. Under urgent consideration by UK and French Governments (response).	US to provide requisite infor- mation, plans, and equipment t accomplish this subject to con clusion of necessary arrange-
3. Soviet/GDR	Command W	being considered.	Countermeasures to be de- cided at the time by Govern- ments.	ments between governments.
physical harassments of civil flights with military crews or military transports.	General Norstad at his dis- cretion authorized to use fighter protection on basis of JCS instructions of 31 August 1961 and JACK PINE II rules of engagement. (See Annex F for JACK PINE rules		US-UK agreed position. French position: decision to introduce escorts will be taken by governments.	Ambassadors at Bonn in consultation with the Federal Republ should confirm publicly that is accordance with previous statement page above fighter pretection has been initiated.
	of engagement.)	Immediate appeal to the United Nations Security Council if fighter protection is introduced.	See below under I C.	If there is to be an appeal to the Security Council it is de- sirable that the Allies' re- sponse and countermeasures if any should have been made befor the Security Council meets.
		Take countermeasures in the travel and air traffic fields. (Annex C)	rious enough to warrant fighter protection, it is Quadripartitely agreed to take these countermeasures.	NATO has agreed that "in the event of the Soviets enforcing a partial interdiction of NATO air traffic (civil or military) to or from West Berlin, the three measures listed Annex C constitute an appropriate response, it being understood that if this situation arose, the Council would at once meet to decide what action about it.

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11-9-61

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11-9-61

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Developments in the Crisis

Responses

C. Shooting or Forcing Down by Military
Action of Unescorted
Civil or Military Transport.

Countermeasures

Protest in Moscow.

Immediate appeal to the United Nations Security Council.

Status of Decision

Text to be prepared at the time.

An automatic approach to the Security Council has been agreed to by the UK and Germany. The French do not wish to make an advance commitment to associate themselves but have no objection to the others proceeding. The US would wish to go at once to the Council if it is understood another government intended to take the issue to the UN. Otherwise, it would want to review the matter in the light of the situation at the time. (Annex

Comments

If there is to be an appeal to the Security Council it is desirable that the Allies response and countermeasures if any should have been made before the Security Council meets.

Economic Countermeasures. (Annex C)

More severe countermeasures (Selected from Annexes A and B).

Annex C is agreed to Quadripartitely as a minimum for these circumstances.

US, France and Germany agree; the UK will consider at the time.

The US, France and Germany consider that the Annex C countermeasures should be taken at an earlier stage, and it is quadripartitely agreed they should be taken earlier at any time fighter protection is provided. If this had been done, the US, France and Germany would wish to take more severe countermeasures at this time.

Germany believes that an appropriate response to an aggressive act such as this should be retaliation possibly in connection with maritime control measures.

NATO has agreed that "in the event of the Soviets enforcing

- 8 -

Developments in the Crisis

Responses

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Developments in the Crisis

Responses

Countermeasures

Status of Decision

Comments

C. (Continued)

If in these circumstances General Norstad considers it inappropriate to continue civil flights with military crews in B 1 above, shift to military transport on a tripartite basis. General Norstad at his discretion may initiate fighter protection on the basis of the JCS instructions of 31 August 1961 and the JACK PINE II rules of engagement. First flight may be unescorted and without passengers. Before flights started, three governments through their Ambassadors at Bonn would issue appropriate public statement in consultation with the Federal Government to effect that airlift will continue and necessary measures will continue to be taken to protect transports

Agreed by US-UK.

French position: Shift to military transports should be announced by three governments which would point out that military flights will be escorted if there are obstacles to their passage and that there will be a reply in case of attack. The actual decision to introduce escorts will be taken by governments. French position "governing principles": 1. Legitimate defense can be envisaged only in the case of an aircraft which, when attacked in the air, is able to defend itself: this is the individual reply to an attack which is normally admitted. 2. Response in the air should of course be prepared, but such response

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The question of expanding the rules of engagement of JACK PINE II is under consideration. The decision of the three Governments on action awaits General Norstad's elaboration of the measures he is contemplating and his proposed instructions in this regard.

Developments in the Crisis

Responses

Countermeasures

Status of Decision

Comments

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		TOP SECRET		AIR ACCESS
		- 10 -		AIR ACCESS
Developments in the Crisis	Responses	Countermeasures	Status of Design	
D. Interference with escorted transport.	(BQD M9). (See Annex F for Jack Pine rules of engagement.)		Status of Decision could actually take place only after agreement be- tween the governments con- cerned.	Comments
l. Attack upon an escorted aircraft by other aircraft.		Protest in Moscow.	Text to be prepared at the time.	
	See Annex F for JACK PINE II rules of engagement.	The question will already have been brought to the Security Council and certain countermeasures will already be in effect (as a result of	The rules of engagement are tripartitely agreed.	The question of expanding the rules of engagement of JACK PINE II is under consideration. The decision of the three Governments

This general program of

to be considered by Gov-

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A determined attack upon an escorted aircraft, whether or not it was successful, would almost certainly discourage passenger travel to the degree that it would, to all practical purposes, cease. It is conceivable that an attack could seem unplanned or even accidental, though this is improbable, but Allied reaction would depend to some extent on the assessment of Soviet/GDR intentions.

A particular contingency which should be recognized as of significance is the possible prolonged interdiction of passenger traffic, while supply flights continue. This could result from even widely-spaced sporadic

		TOP SECRET		AIR ACCESS
		- 10 -		AIR ACCESS
Developments in the Crisis	Responses	Countermeasures	Status of Design	
D. Interference with escorted transport.	(BQD M9). (See Annex F for Jack Pine rules of engagement.)		Status of Decision could actually take place only after agreement be- tween the governments con- cerned.	Comments
l. Attack upon an escorted aircraft by other aircraft.		Protest in Moscow.	Text to be prepared at the time.	
	See Annex F for JACK PINE II rules of engagement.	The question will already have been brought to the Security Council and certain countermeasures will already be in effect (as a result of	The rules of engagement are tripartitely agreed.	The question of expanding the rules of engagement of JACK PINE II is under consideration. The decision of the three Governments

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Developments	in	the
Crisis		

Countermeasures

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Consideration will have to be given to returning to the UN.

Regarding the UN much will depend on the status of the issue there following the earlier appeal. The decision will have to be made by Governments at the time.

attacks on transports or even from threats to destroy aircraft carrying passengers. Thus the Soviets would have achieved their often-stated desire to prevent carrying of civilian passengers on Allied aircraft. Germany would wish to have severe countermeasures in this situation.

2. Attack upon an escorted aircraft by ground fire, or the use of ground obstacles.

Destroy barrage balloons within the corridors or the Berlin Control Zone which are endangering safety of flight. (BQD M9 covers the question of announcements.)

Protest in BASC (as is customary procedure for cases of interference with flight safety).

US and UK agree General Norstad should have discretion to destroy barrage balloons.

French position: In the case of balloons which might be flown around Berlin to block our airports they might have to be destroyed but this would be done only after government decision and announcement.

It is very possible that air-toair or air-to-ground conflicts would expand beyond the levels provided for in this report. This would be encompassed in planning by LIVE OAK and NATO for larger-scale military operations.

Though it is less likely, the same attack could be made on unescorted aircraft as well. In this case the countermeasures listed under I B 3-physical harassment—or I C—shooting or forcing down of a transport—would apply.

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Crisis			

Countermeasures

Status of Decision

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Destroy other obstacles within the corridors or the Berlin Control Zone which are endangering safety of flight. (BQD M9 covers the question of announcements.)

Attack those ground targets, excluding airfields, in or immediately adjacent to the air corridors which can be specifically identified in the act of firing at Allied aircraft. (BQD M9 covers the question of announcements.)

Protest in BASC (as is customary procedure for cases of interference with flight safety).

The decision of the Three Governments on action awaits General Norstad's elaboration of the measures he is contemplating and his proposed instructions in this regard.

In the case of ground-to-air attack against air transports or fighters, no decision has yet been made to
take this action. General
Norstad has been requested
to elaborate on the measures he is contemplating
before formalizing his plans.

French position "governing principles": 1. Legitimate defense can be envisaged only in the case of an aircraft which, when attacked in the air, is able to defend itself; this is the individual reply to an attack which is normally admitted. 2. Response against the ground should of course be prepared, but such response could actually take place only after agreement between the governments concerned.

The question will already have been brought to the Security Council and certain countermeasures will already be in effect (as a result of the situation which has brought about the introduction of fighter escorts).

TOP SECRET

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Crisis			

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Countermeasures

Status of Decision

Comments

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E. All-out attempt to halt air transport (ground access still being open).

This could occur in two principal ways.

- 1. Intensified interference with or harassment of civil flights with military crews or military transports amounting substantially to halting of air access.
- 2. A Soviet or GDR announcement prohibiting flights on one basis or another.

In case one, the responses listed for items C and D above would be intensified as appropriate.

In case two, the following special measures would be taken:

- (i) Presumably civil airlines, if they are flying, will cease to fly;
- (ii) Probe flights without passengers;

(iii) Fighter protection would be provided the probes on basis of JCS instructions of 31 August 1961 and JACK PINE II rules of engagement (see Annex F for JACK PINE rules of engagement).

In case one, countermeasures listed for items C and D above would be intensified (see item below on economic embargo).

> US and UK consider General Norstad has discretion (see page 3).

General Norstad does not have explicit authorization to provide fighter protection in this contingency; Governments are considering giving him such discretion. (He now has discretion, according to the US and UK, to use fighter protection on the basis of JCS instructions of 31 August 1961 and JACK PINE rules of engagement, if a military or civil plane is forced down by

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Countermeasures

Status of Decision

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(iv) Should these probes show that the GDR/Soviets are determined to interdict Allied air access a decision will be required on implementing planning for expanded air opera-

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(v) Should blockage of air access continue even after initiation of additional or expanded air operations. even farther-reaching military operations will have to be considered.

military action or is shot down. French reserve government decision to the time.)

LIVE OAK and NATO are preparing plans for largerscale military operations.

Same as above.

If this is the first instance of physical interference, we would not yet have gone to the UN on this matter. Approach to the Security Council at least would thus take place.

An automatic approach to the Security Council has been agreed to by the UK and Germany. The French do not wish to make an advance commitment to associate themselves but have no objection to the others proceeding. The US would wish to go at once to the Council if it were understood another government intended to take the issue to the UN. Otherwise it would want to review the matter in the light of the situation at the time.

If there is to be an appeal to the Security Council it is desirable that the Allied response and countermeasures if any. should have been made before the Security Council meets.

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Responses

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Status of Decision

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If an earlier incident had caused the matter to be taken to the UN subsequent to an to the Security Council. the question would arise whether to return to that body, go to the General Assembly or not return to the UN at all. This would depend to an extent on the outcome of the earlier approach.

Severe military, political, economic, and psychological countermeasures from Annex A and B would be taken, including countermeasures amounting to a total economic embargo against the Soviet Bloc.

The question of approaches initial approach has not been examined in detail. Since so much would depend on the outcome of the initial approach, a precise advance decision would appear not to be practicable.

Decisions on military, political and psychological countermeasures will be required. Economic countermeasures amounting to an Soviet Bloc were agreed upon by the Foreign Ministers meeting in Paris in August 1961. The NATO Council is considering a resolution which provides along the lines that, upon determination by NATO member Governments that substantially complete blockage has occurred, they will take measures amounting to an economic embargo.

The Foreign Ministers meeting in Paris in August 1961 agreed that economic countermeasures represent an integral part of the overall Allied policy for economic embargo against the meeting the threat to West Berlin. These countermeasures cannot substitute for military. political, and psychological actions, but can serve as an effective auxiliary to such actions.

> The UK envisages that the most severe economic countermeasures would be taken at the moment of final crisis in connection with the most severe military, political and psychological countermeasures

It is very possible that air-toair or air-to-ground conflicts would expand beyond the levels provided for in the JACK PINE II plan. This would be encompassed in planning by LIVE OAK. and NATO for larger-scale military operations.

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Developments in the Crisis

Responses

Countermeasures

Status of Decision

Comments

F. Determined efforts to interdict Allied air transport, of all categories. ground access being closed.

Depending on the length of time land access has been blocked, the situation may well already be close to active military engagement. Countermeasures will have been applied which will in any case be severe and might be approaching the most severe available. It is also likely that earlier friction in the air corridors will have brought about considerable military activity in the air. The principal effect of this contingency will be to precipitate the use of severe countermeasures not already employed and the use of military action (to the extent feasible given the state of build-up and deployment) if other means fail.

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Countermeasures

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Developments in the Crisis II. INTERFERENCE WITH GROUND ACCESS TO BERLIN. A. Interference with Allied traffic, but not German civilian traffic. by Soviets or by GDR. 1. Harassments short of blockage. a. Adminis-Depends on specific form trative slowdown of of harasament. processing of road and rail traffic, including delays in routing trains through the GDR.

Refuse to deal with police; demand to see travelers by East Ger- Soviet Officer.

Responses

Same as above. Also maintain some form of autobahn patrol.

Protest to Karlshort or

ing on gravity.

Soviet Government, depend-

Same as above.

condition.

Status of Decision

Final decision on Allied

reaction will have to be

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countermeasures are in

Bonn in consultation with

c. Demands for Refuse to pay tells. payment of road tolls (such as West Germans now pay).

Same as above.

Same as above.

d. Demand to search or exercise other controls over vehicles.

. b. Harassment

of Allied autobahn

man police.

Refuse to permit search or other such controls.

Same as above.

Same as above.

d and e assume Allied transit is permitted without the Allies acceding to the demands. Many of such harassments have been experienced over the years at the hands of the Soviets. They will have a more serious implication, however, if they are applied by the GDR after turnover of East Germans of checkpoints. In the latter event, they would likely be the beginning of a rising scale of harassments looking to control of allied movement. If demands such as those in this section are pressed, they would constitute blockage through institution of unacceptable controls (see Section II A 2). Because of the political significance of a peace treaty, responses and countermeasures

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tion whether such a treaty has

Responses and countermeasures

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Countermeasures

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Developments in the Crisis	
e. Impose	
"safety" or other	
regulations on high-	1
ways or railroads re-	-
quiring vehicles or trains to meet par-	
ticular "standards."	
to be registered, etc.	
f. Persistent	
harassment over a	
period of time severely	
hampering Allied access.	1

Responses

GDR control.

Refuse to comply, on the

not subject to Soviet or

grounds that vehicles are

Countermeasures

Status of Decision

Comments

Same as above.

Same as above.

Protest on appropriate occasions. Apply countermeasures selected from the following: numbers 3, 5, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 22, 23, and 24 of Annex A.

Final decision on specific Allied reaction will have to be made at the time by Governments. Too much depends upon the exact nature of the harassment to permit advance decision. With this qualification, the countermeasures are in principle agreed by the US, France and Germany. The UK agrees the listed countermeasures would be appropriate if any were to be used, but reserves the decision as to the use of countermeasures per se to the time. The US, France and Germany consider that in general the countermeasures should be applied initially against the entire Soviet Bloc. The UK proposes they should be applied initially against the GDR alone except in cases where the other members of the bloc have associated themselves with the

Garrison airlift plans are prepared and agreed tripartitely.

harassment in question.

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the Soviets into believing the
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Responses

Countermeasures

Status of Decision

Comments

2. Blockse of Allied road or rail access through introduction of unacceptable controls by the Soviets or GDR. air access being still open. (Unacceptable controls would be any conditions placed on transit beyond those current plans, the carrying out by GDR personnel of procedures now carried out by Soviet personnel would be permitted.) This includes also blockage through severe, persistent harassment.

When the control is announced, a movement should be presented at the checkpoint. If the control is affirmed by the Soviet or GDR personnel, the Allied personnel should insist on their right to pass on basis of earlier procedures. If the demand for control is maintained, the movement already existing. Under should withdraw and report to the Allied military authorities.

Protest as appropriate in circumstances.

Economic countermeasures of a degree less than complete embargo should be taken. together with non-economic countermeasures. Particular measures should be drawn from the suggested list prepared for the case of total Allied land blockage (contained in Annex E). The number and severity of measures to be used would depend upon the circumstances.

The initial response was embodied in the revisions of the contingency plan instructions on turnover of checkpoints to the GDR. now approved by Governments. The decision to use particular countermeasures must be made at the time by Governments. since the circumstances may wary widely. With this qualification, however, there is quadripartite agreement that the countermeasures listed in Annex E constitute an appropriate list from which to choose.

Decisions by Governments will be required as to whether the halted traffic will be carried by the alternate ground route or by an airlift.

It would not be useful to elaborate on the precise nature of the controls which might be introduced by the Soviets or. more likely, the GDR after signing of a peace treaty. There are a great many which could be used.

If blockage persists, consideration will have to be given to the use of military operations as indicated by the results of the political and other measures being taken.

A decision will have to be taken at the time by Governments (of the Four Powers or NATO as appropriate) to implement military plans. Planning is underway by Governments, LIVE OAK and major NATO commands regarding nature and timing of military action. In addition to the Free Style probe, a plan for an operation by a reinforced battalion (Trade Wind) is agreed tripartitely: logistic

Responses

Countermeasures

Status of Decision

Comments

2. Blockse of Allied road or rail access through introduction of unacceptable controls by the Soviets or GDR. air access being still open. (Unacceptable controls would be any conditions placed on transit beyond those current plans, the carrying out by GDR personnel of procedures now carried out by Soviet personnel would be permitted.) This includes also blockage through severe, persistent harassment.

When the control is announced, a movement should be presented at the checkpoint. If the control is affirmed by the Soviet or GDR personnel, the Allied personnel should insist on their right to pass on basis of earlier procedures. If the demand for control is maintained, the movement already existing. Under should withdraw and report to the Allied military authorities.

Protest as appropriate in circumstances.

Economic countermeasures of a degree less than complete embargo should be taken. together with non-economic countermeasures. Particular measures should be drawn from the suggested list prepared for the case of total Allied land blockage (contained in Annex E). The number and severity of measures to be used would depend upon the circumstances.

The initial response was embodied in the revisions of the contingency plan instructions on turnover of checkpoints to the GDR. now approved by Governments. The decision to use particular countermeasures must be made at the time by Governments. since the circumstances may wary widely. With this qualification, however, there is quadripartite agreement that the countermeasures listed in Annex E constitute an appropriate list from which to choose.

Decisions by Governments will be required as to whether the halted traffic will be carried by the alternate ground route or by an airlift.

It would not be useful to elaborate on the precise nature of the controls which might be introduced by the Soviets or. more likely, the GDR after signing of a peace treaty. There are a great many which could be used.

If blockage persists, consideration will have to be given to the use of military operations as indicated by the results of the political and other measures being taken.

A decision will have to be taken at the time by Governments (of the Four Powers or NATO as appropriate) to implement military plans. Planning is underway by Governments, LIVE OAK and major NATO commands regarding nature and timing of military action. In addition to the Free Style probe, a plan for an operation by a reinforced battalion (Trade Wind) is agreed tripartitely: logistic

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Possible approach to the Security Council, depending on the circumstances.

be decided at the time by Governments.

The question of approaching If there is to be an appeal to the UN at this stage should the Security Council it is desirable that the Allied response and countermeasures, if any,

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> The special response should be agreed to in advance as appropriate for this contingency. It is being considered quadripartitely to this end.

a. Closing of the autobahn or railroad on grounds This is a special case with respect to our initial response.

open. By this is meant the flat refusal of the Soviets or GDR to permit passage over a

route.

The three Embassies in Bonn in consultation with the German Government, state or that repairs are needed authorize the statement that we expect our rights of road or rail access will be met by the provision of another route while repairs are being made.

> Offer to repair the road or railroad.

4. Blockage of Allied road and rail access by any means. air access being open.

When the unacceptable control or the prohibition on use of the access routes is announced (depending on the nature of the closure) a movement should be presented at the checkpoint. If the situation is confirmed, the Allied personnel should insist on their right to pass on the basis of previous procedures. If the demand for control or the prohibition is maintained, the

Non-military and military countermeasures as listed in Annex E (drawn from lists at Annexes A and B).

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Possible introduction of a garrison airlift.

If blockage persists, consideration will have to be given to the timing of military operations as indicated by the results of political and other measures being taken.

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Garrison airlift plans are complete and are tripartitely approved. A decision will have to be taken at the time to implement them.

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Mobilization and alert measures.

A decision by Governments regarding mobilization and alert measures.

It is to be expected that the will be required at the time decision to undertake military ground operations will result in cutting off German access.

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Decisions will be required at the time by Governments concerning far-reaching and severe countermeasures to be applied prior to and/or concurrently with the military action. It is not possible to foresee the circumstances at this advanced stage sufficiently to select particular countermeasures in advance.

Possible further action in the UN.

A decision will be required It is to be expected that as at the time by Governments regarding further action in the UN.

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B. Interference with German but not Allied ground access.

1. Harassments short of blockage. There are a great many measures the GDR can take in this field. Their effect is to

The responses will depend upon the harassment. In general they will have the purpose of rejecting vigorously any increase in control over German traffic make traffic to Berlin and securing passage for

Protest statement by German Government on each occasion of significant harassment.

Protest by the Three Powers to the Soviets at an appropriate level.

The protest would be for decision by the German Government. Decision by the Three Ambassadors at Bonn.

A specific use of IZT would be for decision by the

The Working Group report submitted to the Ministers at Paris in August 1961 stated. "Should the Soviet-occupied zone substantially interfere with Berlin traffic (German traffic) then this would be

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the transport being interfered with. (The German delegation has suggested to its Government the preparation of a paper on German traffic to be annexed to this report.)

While the IZT agreement should not be involved substantially for such measures, it would be well for the link between interzonal trade and access to Berlin to be emphasized by some limited trade retaliation. commensurate in severity with the severity of harassment. (Re IZT, see Annex D)

Selective Allied countermeasures would be applied concurrently with countermeasures under IZT. Numbers 3, 5, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 22, 23, and 24 of the list in Annex A are suggested as being suitable as a group to be drawn from for this purpose.

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> The relation of IZT to the harassment might initially be pointed out by the West German IZT office to its East German counterpart.

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2. Blockage of rail, road or barge traffic, or two or all of them.

If German traffic is so limited by measures of this sort as to reduce it below levels sufficient to mainProtest statement by German Government.

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Status of Decision

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and organizational planning for a division-sized probe action (June Ball) is in preparation. The following instructions have been given to major NATO commanders by NATO members: For the purpose of providing as great a choice as possible of supplementary alternatives, NATO military plans covering broad land, air or naval measures should be prepared by the major NATO Commanders as appropriate. In each case, the expected advantages and estimated risks should be set out in specific terms to accompany plans. In particular. plans to provide for the following should be studied urgently: (a) Appropriate alert measures for NATO forces prior to initiation of any tripartite military measures; (b) expanded nonnuclear air and/or naval operations: (c) expanded non-nuclear ground operations with necessary air support; (d) selective use of nuclear weapons to demonstrate the will and ability of the Alliance to use them. (Appreved NATO Oct. 17)

C. Blockage of both Allied and German ground access, air access still being open.

Severe military, political, economic, and psychological countermeasures from Annex A and B would be taken, includ- quired. Economic countering countermeasures amount-

TOP SECRET

Decisions on military, political and psychological measures amounting to an

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Responses

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Consideration would have to be given to resorting to a quadripartite airlift (QBAL).

> An approach to the UN Security Council could be made.

If blockage persists, consideration will have to be given to the timing of military operations as indicated by the results of political and other actions being taken.

economic embargo against the Soviet Bloc were agreed upon by the Foreign Ministers meeting in Paris in August 1961. The NATO Council is considering a resolution which provides along the lines that, upon determination by NATO member Governments that substantially complete blockage has occurred, they will take measures amounting to an economic embargo.

QBAL plans are agreed quadripartitely but require government decision to implement.

No definite decision has been taken in approaching the UN at this stage. It should be made at the time by Governments.

A decision will have to be taken at the time by Governments (of the Four Powers or NATO as appropriate) to implement military plans. Planning is underway by Governments, LIVE OAK and major NATO commands regarding the nature and timing of military action. In addition to the Free Style probe, a plan for an operation by a reinforced battalion (Trade Wind) is agreed tripartitely. Logistic and organizational planning

meeting the threat to West Berlin. These countermeasures cannot substitute for military. political, and psychological actions, but can serve as an effective auxiliary to such actions.

The UK envisages that the most severe economic countermeasures would be taken at the moment of final crisis in connection with the most severe military. political and psychological countermeasures.

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D. Blockage of both If air access, politically the most vital of access routes, had been closed, the Allies would Allied and German land already have begun intensive efforts in the military and non-military fields to reopen it. Closing of ground access would complete the blockade of Berlin and would lead to intensification of the efforts to reopen access.

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Developments in the Crisis

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III. HARASSMENTS WITH-IN BERLIN.

A. Interference with Allied Access to East Berlin.

1. Harassment but not denial of Allied entry into East Berlin.

a. East German Allied personnel should make If a Soviet officer appears customary demand to see Se- and permits the vehicle to police demand to see identification or other viet officer. If this documents of uniformed denied or if officer does personnel in an officialnot appear, first person in vehicle, attempt to uniform so blocked will withsearch the vehicle, etc.draw. Allied Commandant is

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b. East German police demand to see identification or ficial Allied civilian personnel in official Allied vehicles or private vehicle with

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The UK agrees to show identity card or passport; British of-

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USAREUR (or respective UK er French) license plates, or demand to search the vehicle. etc.

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c. East German pelice demand to Berlin on foot or by rail.

Officials should show pass, identity card or passport, but see identity documents should not agree to any stamp of non-uniformed Allied on these documents, any cusofficials entering East toms control, or the issuance of any special GDR pass.

US and UK follow practice described in response. French officials are authorized to show passes but not passports. The question is being considered in Bonn and Berlin with a view to harmonizing procedures.

The question of demands for identification of uniformed military is being considered quadripartitely.

d.(1) East German police halt Allied military or civilian official persennel, in official or officially licensed vehicle, within East Berlin.

d.(2) The vehicle is not permitted to proceed, and a Soviet officer is not called.

The same initial procedure should be followed by these two categories of personnel as at the checkpoints. The vehicle should contact its headquarters if it has a radio.

If the vehicle is allowed to proceed under the prescribed conditions, no countermeasures are required.

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The vehicle should proceed A protest should be made by measures, such as detaining they are, repeating demands a Seviet vehicle in West Ber- place on the question in lin (other than BASC or Spandau personnel).

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(a) Soviet civilian and of- should be taken. Quadrificial personnel. Ostentatious escort. Minor delays on movement. Retention for a limited period of time.

Response agreed to quadripartitely. Details being coordinated in Berlin.

Countermessures inside Berlin have been agreed among the Commandants in Berlin. The UK and France have agreed in principle but wished to study further. US and Germany agree they partite agreement being sought.

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Countermeasures

Status of Decision

Comments

Temporary refusal to admit to West Berlin. Expulsion.

(b) Soviet military vehicles. including War Memorial Guard.

As for (a) above Note: These measures would not effect BASC and Spandau personnel.

(iv) Harassment of Czech and Polish Missions.

(a) Withdrawal of logistic privileges.

(b) Residence forcee, or

(c) Expulsion.

Tripartite protest in Moscow. Quadripartitely agreed.

If approach in Moscow fails, countermeasures should be taken outside the context of circulation within Berlin: Annex A, numbers 6, 9, 11, 12, 14, 15 (selective).

(The question of a complete TID ban at this stage is being discussed in Bonn.)

US, France and Germany agree, though France wished further study. UK considers the measures might be right in these circumstances but reserves a final decision until the time. Further quadripartite study being undertaken urgently.

Countermeasures outside the context of circulation in Berlin would seem justified in this case even though they would be unlikely to effect opening of the boundary. They would be needed to show our will and ability to react to Soviet encroachment generally. They should be of such a nature that they could be maintained throughout the crisis.

B. Interference with West German and West Berliner access to East Berlin.

1. Further restriction on but not denial of entry of West Germans on West.

If the restriction is severe and affects West Germens, the latter should

A decision should be taken whether to involve IZT at all in the question of circulapoint out to the East Germans tion within Berlin. It was

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Develo	pments	in	the
	Crisis		

Responses

Countermeasures

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Berliners into East Berlin.

through the usual IZT channel that inter-zonal trade is related to movement within Berlin. Perhaps steps could be taken within the terms of the IZT agreement to require payment of outstanding credits in certain categories before further shipments can be made. (Re IZT see Annex D) (Possible use of selective restriction of issuance of

TTDs in the trade category

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by any feasible Western countermeasures. The effort of the West should thus be to make clear that it regards such action as part of the general campaign against West Berlin and that it will respond with more vigorous retaliation if further steps are taken in that campaign. It would thus be well to establish the link with IZT even in the absence of intent to use it significantly in these circumstances.

2.a. Denial of entry of West Germans and West Berliners to East Berlin

The German Government should issue a protest statement. The Commandants should protest at once.

The German Government should A decision on taking measures take whatever steps are more difficult for the East German without however actually making other than minor cancellations in deliveries. (Possible use of selective restriction of issuance of TTDs in the trade category is being considered in Bonn.)

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2.b. Demand by GDR that West Germans and/or West Berliners obtain East German visas for entry into East Berlin.

Refuse to comply.

request for de jure recognition is more serious than closing the boundary alone.

TOP SECRET

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Developments in the Crisis

Responses

Countermeasures

Status of Decisions

Commenta

C. Harassment of or attack upon West Berlin.

1. East German psychological, economic or political harassment of West Berlin.

1.a. Psychological harassment and disturbances:

cal "warfare" against West Berlin especially in critical periods of political tension by means of TV, radio, rumors, subversion.

Increase in psychologia This might be dealt with over the long run by a committee set up in Washington or Berlin to keep this problem under consideration together with the general question of Berlin raison dietre and morale.

laba Economic harassment and disturbances within Berlin:

1. Supply of

food Halting of Soviet zone deliveries of sugar, pork and potatoes under IZT. Substitution by supplies from Federal Republic at any given moment, as long as access open.

Protest

Selective harassment in the field of IZT. (Re IZT see Annex D)

TOP SECRET

No decision has been made on such a committee.

West Berlin and West German authorities note that this psychological "warfare" has been increased considerably after August 13 especially in the field of radio and television propaganda and with regard to rumors.

No decision has been made on the countermeasures. The response presumably requires no specific advance decision.

See Annex for information on the effect of such harassment on the problem of providing supplies via access routes to West Berlin. With respect to countermeasures, their employment will be affected by the degree to which harassments are cummulative and result therefore in a more serious situation than sporadic or isolated harassment would create.

2. Supply of other goods

Soft coal and construction material Soft coal could not easily be replaced by West German

See III. 1.b.

There are strategic stores for raw material and products for 11-17-61

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Developments in the Crisis

Responses

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Crisis	Responses	Countermeasures	Status of Decision	Comments
gasoline (Diesel)	deliveries.			higher consumption for approximately 9 months (coal one year)
				West Berlin has almost no raw materials of its own and thus i almost fully dependent on deliv eries from other sources (East Germany and Federal Republic).
3. Railroad and ocks operation				See Annex
erlin supply services	Transfer to road traffic insofar as possible would become necessary.	West Berlin would be in a position to flood zone areas or East Berlin areas in case of seizure of the locks by West Berlin.	Such countermeasures as flooding of certain areas will have to be studied in Berlin.	The Soviet zone is in a position to terminate railroad operation West Berlin without serious disturbances of its own railroad system (a complete railroad
Rothensee). Railroad s well as locks are perated by East German dministration. Dis- urbances with West		Also it is to be noted that countermeasures against East German and Soviet Bloc barges on the West German canal and water system are conceivable	No decision has been made regarding countermeasures under these circumstances.	system around the city is available to the zone authorities). Soviet zone barge operation acre the sector boundary has been terminated on August 13.
erlin barges are con- eivably notably at the		and remain to be studied. Also see III. 1.b.	The possibility of diver- ting trains to East Berlin	It is possible to direct all Werern supply trains to East Berlin
4. S-Bahn oper-	West Berlin authorized ex-	Additional non-military countermeasures should be envisaged.	should be studied in Bonn and Berlin.	railroad station and thus harass considerably free deliveries to West Berlin. Allied train traff could conceivably be affected in this way.
	tend bus services.	See III. 1.b.	Readiness to make response should be assured in Berlin.	As a spontaneous public reaction the number of S-Bahn users in We has decreased from a daily rate 500,000 to 100,000 since August 13 (estimate).
ectric power and ter.	West Berlin gas suppliers			There is no longer any supply of these services from East Berlin Soviet zone.

Crisis	Responses	Countermeasures	Status of Decision	Comments
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Rothensee). Railroad s well as locks are perated by East German dministration. Dis- urbances with West		Also it is to be noted that countermeasures against East German and Soviet Bloc barges on the West German canal and water system are conceivable	No decision has been made regarding countermeasures under these circumstances.	system around the city is available to the zone authorities). Soviet zone barge operation acre the sector boundary has been terminated on August 13.
erlin barges are con- eivably notably at the		and remain to be studied. Also see III. 1.b.	The possibility of diver- ting trains to East Berlin	It is possible to direct all Werern supply trains to East Berlin
4. S-Bahn oper-	West Berlin authorized ex-	Additional non-military countermeasures should be envisaged.	should be studied in Bonn and Berlin.	railroad station and thus harass considerably free deliveries to West Berlin. Allied train traff could conceivably be affected in this way.
	tend bus services.	See III. 1.b.	Readiness to make response should be assured in Berlin.	As a spontaneous public reaction the number of S-Bahn users in We has decreased from a daily rate 500,000 to 100,000 since August 13 (estimate).
ectric power and ter.	West Berlin gas suppliers			There is no longer any supply of these services from East Berlin Soviet zone.

Responses

Countermeasures

Status of Decision

Comments

line from Salzgitter/ West Germany to Borsig-factory in West Berlin which could be cut off easily.

could substitute easily.

6. Sewage

It is to be noted that Nevertheless precautionary there is joint West-Separation of this joint system is unlikely.

in the field of sewage measures have been taken (5.000 tons chlorine are and East Berlin system. stocked in Berlin) in order to assure proper sewage.

7. Disturbances of telecommunication and radio systems between West Berlin and the Federal Republic or other Western countries.

Reduce communications to most important traffic as necessary.

Ditilize limited ECCM to maintain communications disregarding assigned frequencies.

Station VHF/UHG relay aircraft in the corridor.

See III. 1.b.

It is to be noted that the East German radio-TV system which is equipped by Siemens depends on regular supplies of essential operational parts from West Berlin. This is a field where retaliation or countermeasures could be applied under certain circumstances.

Stop payment of due costs to East German System through West German Bundespost.

No decisions have been taken US experts consider that, with on responses or countermeasures.

utilization of the techniques referred to. Berlin cannot be blacked out without unacceptable interference with Soviet/GDR transmissions.

German experts point out that the wireless communication system between West Berlin and the Federal Republic does not depend on relay stations in the Soviet zone; however, jamming is possible. The cable communication system between West Berlin and the Federal Republic could be cut off, however, the cables are also used for Soviet Bloc communications to the West.

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Responses

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Comments

1.c. Maintenance of blockage for workers and employees from East Berlin and Soviet zone to work in West Berlin.

West Berlin attempts to fill Further studies necessary. the gap by activation of Demand for free circulation labor reserves, by ration- within Berlin should be realizing production processes peated constantly. and by attracting additional labor from West Germany.

The problem is being dealt with by the West Berlin administration.

1.d. Pelitical distrubances

links with the Federal Republic .

1) identity of political, legal and whether they act: social-economic systems of West Berlin and Federal Republic

- 2) constitutional links: representation of West Berlin in Bundestag and Bundes-measures - see I A-D) rat and other forms of participation in the constitutional life of the Federal Republic
- 3) adoption of Federal laws
- 4) foreign representation by the Federal Republic
- 5) Federal authorities in Berlin
- 6) meetings of Federal constitutional

Attempts to cut exist- Rejection of Soviet demands and assertion that existing ing pelitical legisla- links between FRG and West Berlin are in accordance with tive and administrative Four Power Status of Berlin

> The Western responses and countermeasures will largely depend on the methods the Soviet Union will apply to erede this element of the viability of West Berlin, i.e.

- 1.) through psychological warfare (responses and countermeasures - See III.1)
- 2.) through political pressure (responses and countermeasures - See Paris and Washington Working Group reports)
- 3.) through air-access harassment (responses and counter-
- 4.) through negotiations responses and countermeasures see Paris and Washington Working Group reports)

The German delegation intends to submit additional proposals in due course.

This question is being considered in the context of the various programs in dicated.

With reference to d.5. it should be noted that at present there are approximately 80 Federal German Boards and offices or agencies working in Berlin. They employ 18,000 officials and employees.

The re-transfer of these Federal German Boards and agencies from Berlin to the Federal Republic would cause immense political and psychological problesm.

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Responses

Countermeasures

Status of Decision

Comments

organs in Berlin

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Republic and full participation in political
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8) application of Federal German system for passports and identification.

1.e. Other disturbances

- 1) Harassment of West Berlin radio and TV stations.
- 2) Maintenance There are increased endeaver of blockage for stuper ours to have an increased dents from East Germany number of West German stupend Soviet zone to foldents in Berlin.

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Countermeasures in the field of cultural relations should, be studied inanmuch as such contacts are not yet interrupted. Interference with contacts which are desirable from the point of view of the Federal Republic of Germany should be carefully avoided.

Bahn and railroad installations for provocative and subversive action from East

It is possible to channel through the S-Bahn a great number of communists - or even

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Responses

Countermessures

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- 4) Provocation See previous item by organizing sabetage acts against S-Bahn installations.
- 5) Installation of Soviet zone West Berlin.

This has already been attempted. Immediate closure of offices and agencies in such agencies has been ordered and should be done in future.

or incidents on the Sector boundary or the firearms only in selfzonal border on West of this nature see III 1)

6) Provocation Allied military forces at the sector boundaries use defense or while under fire Berlin. (Other action from East Berlin, and respend with tear gas to attack with water, stones. etc.

Serious incidents or peristant prevecation should be protested by the Commandants Further discussions should be or the particular Commondant whose sector is involved.of engagement." These described

Seviet Ambassader.

the nature mentioned under countermeasures are being made as required by the situation. Transport residents and sup- Protest and warning to Response is firm U.S. pelicy. Soviet Commandant and/or

7) Steinstucken interruption of communication and access to Steinstucken

stuecken by U.S. Army helicepters. Conduct MP patrel into Steinstucken by vehicle or

plies to and from Stein-

helicopter.

2. East German/ Soviet move to seize West Berlin by force. or harassment by military means.

Protest authority delegated to Berlin commandants by US and UK.

The responses have been discus-

held there to coordinate "rules

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Developments in the Crisis

Responses

Countermeasures

Status of Decision

Comments

2.a. Harassment by shelling, ect., not associated with direct attempt to seize the city.

Planning not yet undertaken.

Such action might occur as part of an effort to prevent use of West Berlin air fields.

2.b. Overt attack North Atlantic Treaty preby uniformed force. visions take effect.

NATO conducts appropriate military operations.

Articles 5 and 6 of the NATO Treaty provide for col- being done by Gen. Nerstad. lective self-defense in the event of attack upon the territory of any of the Parties in Europe.

Planning for NATO operations

Berlin defense plan comes into effect.

Single Allied Commander for Allied forces in Berlin.

2.c. Covertly directed effort to infiltrate large numbers of activists, create widespread diserder. and seize central

West Berlin pelice, including Force B, seek to suppress: Allied garrisons committed if necessary. Single Allied Commander for Allied forces in Berlin.

Severe military and nonmilitary countermeasures (Annex B).

See below.

Three governments have agreed that Gen. Norstad can designate a single commander for Berlin in the event of a grave civil disturbance, on the joint recommendation of the three Commandants, if time does not permit reference to Governments.

Reinferce Berlin garrisons from Allied forces in FRG. No common decision has been Police and existing garrisons can taken on reinforcement of Berlin. Gen. Norstad should thousands of rioters. Little be asked for recommendations.additional reinforcements should

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Bring NATO forces to state of Reinforced Alert.

Take additional countermeasures beyond Central Europe (See Annex B).

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IV. SOVIET POLITICAL MOVES

A. Announcement of a "peace conference"

Notes to Soviets from US. UK. France and Federal Republic sent and published.

Representation to governments Agreed by Four-Power Workof all states invited to the ing Group and referred to conference to decline. as well as provision of guidance to the press.

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B. Signature of a "peace treaty"

Solemn statement by US, UK, France and Federal Republic. drawal from functions re

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Developments in the Crisis

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Minor Countermeasures

Economic

- 1. The closure of Soviet Bloc trade missions, including Amtorg offices, in NATO countries.
- 2. The refusal by NATO countries to enter into new contracts to charter shipping to Soviet Bloc Countries and suspend existing contracts.
- 3. The expansion of export control measures by NATO countries against the Soviet Bloc, including selective embargo. (Could be a major action depending on extent of control.)
- 4. The cut-off by NATO countries of selected types of industrial and technical exchanges in which Soviets are most interested and ban export of published and unpublished technical and scientific information.
- 5. The slowdown by NATO countries in issuance of export licenses and foreign exchange licensing for shipments to Soviet Bloc.
- 6. The cancellation by NATO countries of arrangements for Soviet Bloc participation in exhibitions, trade fairs, scientific conferences, and other international meetings.
- 7. The warning to NATO shipping and civil aircraft to avoid using Soviet Bloc harbors and airports.
- 8. The closure of NATO country frontiers to Soviet Bloc officials engaging in trade or commerce.
- 9. The cancellation of arrangements for NATO country participation in exhibitions, trade fairs, scientific conferences, and other international meetings scheduled in Soviet Bloc countries.
- 10. Preparation and implementation by NATO countries of countermeasures against USSR and "GDR" in form of controls over transport on basis equivalent to any Soviet or GDR harassments.
- 11. Restrain movement of personnel of Soviet trade missions, including Amtorg, in NATO countries.

Other Non-military

- 12. Tighten controls over Soviet Bloc personnel at frontiers, ports, and airports of NATO countries as evidence of increased caution.
- 13. Refuse TTD*s to Soviet Zone travelers either on complete or selective basis.
- 14. Restrict circulation of Soviet Bloc officials and visitors over metropolitan territories of NATO countries.
- 15. Prohibit tourist travel of Soviet Bloc nationals in NATO countries.
- 16. Suspend or cancel cultural exchange agreements between Bloc and NATO countries.
- 17. In light of reactions to earlier stages, consider requesting neutral countries to make representations to USSR for removal of obstructions to Berlin access.

*Military

- 18. Continue air surveillance along Greenland, Iceland and UK line.
- 19. Execute anti-submarine surveillance at Straits of Gibraltar and in the Aegean Sea with visible patrolling.
- 20. Increase air activities (surveillance, military presence, etc.) along Soviet Bloc borders/radar barrier, utilizing resources of Far East Allies to the extent possible.
- 21. Assemble key tripartite/NATO commanders at Paris for readiness conference.
- *Military measures list is tentative. More complete and refined lists are being prepared by the four governments. Maritime control measures are being studied quadripartitely.

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Minor Countermeasures (Continued)

- 22. Augment military guards at autobahn checkpoints, on trains, and at Allied airfields in Berlin.
- 23. Initiate unilateral/tripartite military police patrols of the autobahn, on a 24-hour basis.
- 24. Organize all military autobahn traffic to and from Berlin in convoys escorted by armed MP's equipped with two-way communications equipment.
- 25. Increase utilization of the autobahn and air corridors to Berlin.
- 26. Increase stockpile of weapons, ammunition, and military supplies in Berlin.
- 27. Increase reconnaissance flights in the air corridors.
- 28. Implement appropriate alert measures in Europe to include:
 - a. Intensification of security against sabotage and subversion.
 - b. Reinforce frontiers.
 - c. Cancel routine out-of-area exercises and increase in-place exercises.
 - d. Intensify security restrictions on indigenous employees.
 - e. Increase air defense alert.
- 29. Control radio traffic to indicate increased alert; vary pattern of detectable communications activity.
- 30. Reinforce ADIZ measures.

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Major Countermeasures

Economic

- *1. The prohibition of the use of all financial facilities of the NATO countries to carry on current transactions with the USSR, the Soviet Zone of Germany, the other Soviet Bloc members and their nationals.
- *2. The expulsion of all Soviet Bloc technical experts and foreign trade officials without diplomatic immunity from the NATO countries.
- *3. The freezing of all assets of the members of the Soviet Bloc under jurisdiction of the NATO powers.
- *4. Termination by NATO countries of trade agreements involving Soviet Bloc countries.
- *5. The denial by NATO countries of all exports to Soviet Bloc countries.
- *6. The stoppage of all imports from Soviet Bloc countries to NATO countries.
- *7. The closure of NATO ports to Soviet Bloc shipping and planes and Soviet Bloc chartership.
- *8. The prevention of aircraft of Soviet Bloc countries from making transit overflights and technical stops in NATO countries.
- *9. The prohibition of calling at Soviet Bloc ports of vessels and planes of the NATO countries.

Other Non-Military

- 10. Intensify surveillance of Soviet Bloc fishing fleets in North Atlantic and North Pacific.
- 11. Discourage NATO country tourist and nonessential traffic in Europe.
- *Measures amounting to a total economic embargo (Annex A of Section V of the Paris Working Group report).

- 12. Restrict replacement and augmentation of personnel in Soviet Bloc embassies in NATO countries.
- 13. Close NATO country frontiers to all Soviet Bloc officials and visitors.
- 14. Jam Soviet Bloc radio broadcasts.

**Military

- 15. Deploy additional forces (fillers and units) overseas.
- 16. Increase air capability in Europe (fighter and troop carrier).
- 17. Seventeenth Air Force conduct exercises in Europe.
- 18. Sixth Fleet to conduct carrier operations in central and eastern Mediterranean.
- 19. Conduct tripartite exercises easily identifiable with the problem of forcing access to Berlin via the autobahn.
- 20. Establish anti-submarine barrier patrol along Greenland-Iceland-UK line.
- 21. Increase SAC degree of alert by utilizing airborne alert (currently on 50% ground alert).
- 22. Increase air defense alert, CONUS.
- 23. Alert additional Reserve component units.
- 24. Close Panama Canal to Bloc shipping.
- 25. Move elements of 2d Fleet to war stations (Northern European waters).
- 26. Augmentation of ASW forces in the Mediterranean.
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- *6. The stoppage of all imports from Soviet Bloc countries to NATO countries.
- *7. The closure of NATO ports to Soviet Bloc shipping and planes and Soviet Bloc chartership.
- *8. The prevention of aircraft of Soviet Bloc countries from making transit overflights and technical stops in NATO countries.
- *9. The prohibition of calling at Soviet Bloc ports of vessels and planes of the NATO countries.

Other Non-Military

- 10. Intensify surveillance of Soviet Bloc fishing fleets in North Atlantic and North Pacific.
- 11. Discourage NATO country tourist and nonessential traffic in Europe.
- *Measures amounting to a total economic embargo (Annex A of Section V of the Paris Working Group report).

- 12. Restrict replacement and augmentation of personnel in Soviet Bloc embassies in NATO countries.
- 13. Close NATO country frontiers to all Soviet Bloc officials and visitors.
- 14. Jam Soviet Bloc radio broadcasts.

**Military

- 15. Deploy additional forces (fillers and units) overseas.
- 16. Increase air capability in Europe (fighter and troop carrier).
- 17. Seventeenth Air Force conduct exercises in Europe.
- 18. Sixth Fleet to conduct carrier operations in central and eastern Mediterranean.
- 19. Conduct tripartite exercises easily identifiable with the problem of forcing access to Berlin via the autobahn.
- 20. Establish anti-submarine barrier patrol along Greenland-Iceland-UK line.
- 21. Increase SAC degree of alert by utilizing airborne alert (currently on 50% ground alert).
- 22. Increase air defense alert, CONUS.
- 23. Alert additional Reserve component units.
- 24. Close Panama Canal to Bloc shipping.
- 25. Move elements of 2d Fleet to war stations (Northern European waters).
- 26. Augmentation of ASW forces in the Mediterranean.
- **Military measures list is tentative. More complete and refined lists are being prepared by the four governments. Maritime control measures being studied quadripartitely.

Major Countermeasures (Continued)

- 27. Intensify atomic training in all military forces.
- 28. Conduct submarine exercises in Mediterranean, North Atlantic and/or Pacific.
- 29. Execute overseas aircraft aquadron dispersal plan.
- 30. Execute naval countermeasures against Bloc shipping:
 - a. Blockade Bloc shipping in Black Sea (requires Allied support to be successful).
 - b. Blockade in North Sea exits from the Baltic (requires Allied support to be successful).
 - c. Seize Soviet ships in the Western Pacific and in the vicinity of Cuba.
 - d. Announce a "Declaration of Contraband" prohibiting shipment of Communist arms and munitions into Cuba.
 - e. Announce a "Declaration of denial of free passage to Soviet and Bloc ships."
 - f. Discreet mining operations.
 - g. Seize US lend-lease ships possessed by the USSR.
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Countermeasures for Interference with Air Access

- 1. Closure of NATO Airports to Soviet Bloc aircraft;
- Prevention of transit overflights and technical stops by Soviet Bloc aircraft in NATO countries;
- 3. Prohibition against NATO country aircraft calling at Soviet Bloc airports.

NOTE: Item 3 to be implemented 24 hours in advance of items 1 and 2.

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The Interzonal Trade Agreement

1.) Agreements

The Interzonal Trade Agreement was signed in Berlin on 29th December 1960. By this agreement the following earlier agreements and accords were reinstated:

- a) Interzonal Trade Agreement of 20th September 1951 including all annexes and supplementary accords.
- b) The accords of 16th August 1960.

2.) Volume of Interzonal Trade

Volume of interzonal trade in 1960: DM 1.6 Billion - i.e., DM 800 millions worth of trade was carried on with the Soviet Zone in either direction.

3.) Junctim

At the signing of the agreement on 29th December 1960, both sides agreed on the following as a basis for transactions under the Agreement:

- a) The agreement deals with transportation matters only. Thus, political questions are left out, i.e., Four-Power responsibility for Berlin is not affected thereby.
- b) Prerequisite:
 Unimpeded movement of passengers and goods between Berlin and the Federal
 Republic, and within Berlin.
- e) The passengers permit regulation issued by the zonal authorities on 8th September 1960 is not in fact being applied, i.e., it has not been repealed formally.
- d) The zonal authorities have agreed to the sealing of trucks and as far as possible of ships in transit. This procedure means a considerable simplification.
- e) Our concession to the zonal authorities:
 - aa) Permission for West German firms to attend the Leipzig Fair.
 - bb) Members of the staff of Soviet zonal foreign trade enterprises are not interfered with in pursuit of their business activities in the Federal Republic.

On the basis of the new accords it is possible for the Federal Government at any time to cancel goods consignment papers for individual consignments or for special types of goods. In the negotiations with the zonal authorities our side expressly stated that such cancellation would be affected in the event of interference with movements to or within Berlin. As is known, the Federal Republic has not availed itself of this right of cancellation.

4.) Evaluation

As a result of this junctim, an economic reorganization leading to an ever decreasing dependence on supplies from the Federal Republic has taken place in the Soviet Zone. Experience over the last few months has shown (although figures are not available to support this conclusion) that quotas of goods listed under No. 1 Account - especially iron and steel products as well as machinery - have not been fully taken up, nor have the long-term contracts required for this purpose been concluded. This development has deprived us to a considerable degree of the means of pressure which the interzonal trade agreement hitherto enabled us to bring to bear.

As was shown above, the zonal authorities clearly have violated the junctim implied in the interzonal trade agreement since 13th August 1961; nevertheless we have refrained from denouncing the interzonal trade agreement or from cancellation of the goods consignment papers because of the danger of escalation arising therefrom. For this reason, the other three powers have not adopted our proposal of selective restriction of trade.

The volume of West Berlin's present supplies from the Soviet Zone is as follows:

1960: DM 181 Million
First quarter of 1961: DM 41.1 Million

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It should be pointed out once more that as a result of the above-mentioned shift of the Soviet Zone's most important West German supplies to other countries, the effectiveness of denouncing the interzonal trade agreement has been substantially reduced.

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COUNTERMEASURES FOR BLOCKAGE OF EITHER ALLIED OR GERMAN LAND ACCESS

The occurrence of either of these contingencies brings into being a complex situation of great instability. In general terms, the reaction of the West will be to set in motion a wide range of military (but non-combative) and non-military countermeasures while insisting in direct contacts with the Soviets that the blockage be ended. Depending on the results of initial contacts and in the absence of Soviet action in the direction we desire, the number and severity of countermeasures will be increased. Contacts with the USSR will be raised to the highest levels. As tension mounts other factors will come into play, particularly third country and UN efforts to prevent conflict. At some point, consideration will be given to initiating military operations. (In the case of blockage of German civilian access, attempts might have been made to take German traffic through under Allied segis.)

It is thus clear that no simple list of countermeasures can be adequate as an expression of planning for these events. In general terms, again, the first countermeasures to be applied after blockage would be less than the most severe actions available; economic measures would be short of full embargo, for example. If the blockage persists, increasingly severe countermeasures would no doubt be required. The period in which this development occurs might be brief or protracted.

For planning purposes, therefore, two lists of countermeasures have been prepared. The first contains those measures which would be taken immediately upon blockage. The second contains those which, depending on circumstances, might be introduced during the succeeding period. (These are the measures constituting the economic embargo which it has been agreed to apply automatically in the event total land access is blocked.) The decision on the timing of the measures in the second list would be made by Governments at the time. The same lists can be used for both contingencies with the exception (as noted in the lists) that interzonal trade would be broken off at once if German access were blocked, but not until a later stage if Allied access were blocked.

NOTE: This Annex has been approved by the US and is being considered by France and Germany; the UK has considered and takes the following position: Countermeasures should be decided by Governments in the light of circumstances at the time. They should be selected from the UK list at Annex 4 of BQD-E-12. Depending on circumstances, the countermeasures imposed would probably be phased in progressively more severe stages with widening scope. There should be full NATO cooperation.

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MEASURES TO BE TAKEN AT ONCE*

Non-Military

- 1. The closure of Soviet Bloc trade missions, including Amtorg offices, in NATO countries.
- The refusal by NATO countries to enter into new contracts to charter shipping to Soviet Bloc Countries and suspend existing contracts.
- 3. The expansion of export control measures by NATO countries against the Soviet Bloc, including selective embargo.
- 4. The cut-off by NATO countries of selected types of industrial and technical exchanges in which the Soviet Bloc is most interested and ban export of published and unpublished technical and scientific information.
- 5. The slowdown by NATO countries in issuance of export licenses and foreign exchange licensing for shipments to Soviet Bloc.
- 6. The cancellation by NATO countries of arrangements for Soviet Bloc participation in exhibitions, trade fairs, scientific conferences, and other international meetings.
- 7. The warning to NATO shipping and civil aircraft to avoid using Soviet Bloc harbors and airports.
- 8. The cancellation of arrangements for NATO country participation in exhibitions, trade fairs, scientific conferences, and other international meetings scheduled in Soviet Bloc countries.
- 9. Preparation and implementation by NATO countries of countermeasures against USSR and "GDR" in form of controls over transport on basis equivalent to any Soviet or GDR harassments.
- 10. Refuse TTD's to all Soviet Zone travelers.
- 11. Restrict circulation of Soviet Bloc officials over metropolitan territories of NATO countries.
- 12. Suspend or cancel cultural exchange agreements between Bloc and NATO countries.
- 13. Termination by NATO countries of trade agreements involving Soviet Bloc countries.
- 14. Discourage NATO country tourist and nonessential traffic in Europe.
- 15. Restrict replacement and augmentation of personnel in Soviet Bloc Embassies in NATO countries.
- 16. Close NATO country frontiers to all Soviet Bloc officials and visitors.
- 17. Break off German interzonal trade (in the contingency that German access is blocked).

Military

Selected military countermeasures. **

- *The US, France and Germany consider that economic countermeasures should be applied initially against the Soviet Bloc as a whole. The UK believes they should be applied initially against the GDR and later against the Soviet Union and other bloc countries.
- **These measures are at present the subject of detailed staff study prior to selecting them for use in particular contingencies.

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MEASURES WHICH MIGHT BE TAKEN IF BLOCKAGE PERSISTS

(Decision on Timing of Individual Measures to Be Made by Governments)

Non-Military

- 1. The prohibition of the use of all financial facilities of the NATO countries to carry on current transactions with the USSR, the Soviet Zone of Germany, and other Soviet Bloc members and their Nationals.
- The expulsion of all Soviet Bloc technical experts and foreign trade officials without diplomatic immunity from the NATO countries.
- 3. The freezing of all assets of the members of the Soviet Bloc under jurisdiction of the NATO powers.
- 4. The denial by NATO countries of all exports to Soviet Bloc countries.
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- 6. The closure of NATO ports to Soviet Bloc shipping and planes and Soviet Bloc chartership.
- 7. The prevention of aircraft of Soviet Bloc countries from making transit overflights and technical stops in NATO countries.
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ANNEX F

TEXTS AND INSTRUCTIONS RELATING TO AIR ACCESS

I. Statement to be Made by the Three Embassies at Bonn in Response to a GDR Demand that Western Airlines Register their Radios.

"We cannot recognize any East German attempt to impose conditions on Allied air traffic in the Berlin air corridors. The right of Allied aircraft to fly is founded on Quadripartite agreements and is exercised in accordance with the quadripartitely agreed rules of flight. These rules of flight do not require the special licensing of radio equipment, this being a responsibility which, in accordance with generally accepted international practice, is assumed by the state of registry of the aircraft. Requirements of allied national authorities in respect of radio licensing are consistent with internationally recognized standards and recommended practices of International Civil Aviation Organization and International Telecommunications Union and cover all aspects of safe, interference-free operation."

"Nor can we recognize any east German claim to assert any control over Allied aircraft. Under the quadripartite agreements it is the function of the Berlin air safety center, working through the appropriate airfield air traffic control center, which, in the Allied case, is the Berlin air traffic control at Tempelhof, to ensure the safety of aircraft in the control zone and the corridors. The present system of control has worked satisfactorily for 15 years and there is no reason why it cannot continue to do so."

II. JACK PINE Rules of Engagement.

- 1. In the event of unprovoked armed attack against aircraft engaged in operations under this plan, IMMEDIATE PURSUIT is authorized. IMMEDIATE PURSUIT will be limited to the degree necessary to protect personnel, property, and to achieve the plan objectives. It is subject to the following restrictions.
 - a. IMMEDIATE PURSUIT will not include prolonged pursuit deep into hostile airspace.
 - b. Commanders will not be authorized to organize a pursuing force deliberately.
 - c. IMMEDIATE PURSUIT authority will apply only to specific incidents.
- 2. Fighter aircraft will be under the operational control of the JACK PINE Command Post and will receive instructions through AUENHAUSEN GCI (Central Corridor) and TELEGRAM GCI (Southern Corridor). Communications will be between the flight leader and the GDI controller.
- 3. Tripartite fighters are authorized to engage and open fire on USSR/GDR aircraft only when the latter actually fire at or in the direction of tripartite fighter or transport aircraft, or as may be specifically authorized or directed by CINCUSAFE acting in compliance with instructions of the designated overall commander.

4. Any deviation

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4. Any deviation

- 4. Any deviation from the above Rules of Engagement required at the time of the operation will be authorized only by CINCUSAFE from the JACK PINE Command Post acting on the instruction of the designated overall commander.
- III. United States Note of August 26, 1961, to the Soviet
 Government in Reply to Soviet Note of August 23, 1961
 (Identical Notes Sent by UK and France).

Following is the text of the United States note to the Soviet Union which was delivered August 26 to the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs by the American Embassy at Moscow. Identical notes were also delivered by the Embassies of the United Kingdom and France in Moscow:

The Embassy of the United States of America presents its compliments to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and has the honor to refer to the Ministry's note number 84/OSA of August 23, 1961, in connection with which the Embassy, upon the instructions of its Government, is authorized to state the following:

The Government of the Soviet Union objects in its note to the use by the Western Allies of their air corridors to Berlin. The United States Government must protest strongly against the suggestion that the purposes for which the Western Allies use the air corridors are within the competence of the Soviet Union. These corridors were established in 1945 by decision of the Four Power Allied Control Council as the manner in which the unrestricted right of air access to Berlin would be exercised by the Western Powers. There has never been any limitation whatsoever placed upon their use by the aircraft of the Western Powers. The United States Government will hold the Government of the Soviet Union responsible for any interference with the safety of these aircraft in the corridors.

The Government of the USSR in its note accuses the Western Powers of violating the Four-Power Agreements of 1945. In particular, it reproaches them for their "connivance at the interference of the authorities of the Federal Republic of Germany in the affairs of West Berlin and at the use of the territory of the city for international provocations...," and insists "that the Government of the U.S.A., which at present exercises occupation functions in West Berlin, take steps to stop the illegal and provocative actions of the Federal Republic of Germany in that city."

This demand is at the very least surprising. Indeed, since the night of August 12 to 13 the authorities of East Germany, with the concurrence of the Soviet Union, as the note of the Soviet Government dated August 18 attests, have not ceased taking unilateral measures which do precisely violate the Four-Power agreements and the freedom of movement within the city of Berlin. First they erected barricades, strengthened from day to day, to stop the traffic from East to West, in order, in fact, to put an end to the increasing exodus of refugees. For some days the same authorities have been attempting to establish unilateral and arbitrary control over access to East Berlin by the inhabitants of West Berlin and the Federal Republic of Germany. And they have just limited to a single point the possibilities of movement of the Allies from West to East. Moreover, the inhabitants of East Berlin who worked in West Berlin have been denied the pursuit of their occupations. If there are "illegal and provocative actions", they are certainly those of the authorities of East Germany in taking such measures. As the United States note delivered to the Soviet Government on July 17 stated, if there is a crisis in Berlin, it is certainly the doing of the Soviet Union. Did not the number of refugees increase considerably from the day on which the Soviet Government made apparent the imminence of the implementation of its plan for a separate "peace treaty" and a "free city"?

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The Government of the Soviet Union objects in its note to the use by the Western Allies of their air corridors to Berlin. The United States Government must protest strongly against the suggestion that the purposes for which the Western Allies use the air corridors are within the competence of the Soviet Union. These corridors were established in 1945 by decision of the Four Power Allied Control Council as the manner in which the unrestricted right of air access to Berlin would be exercised by the Western Powers. There has never been any limitation whatsoever placed upon their use by the aircraft of the Western Powers. The United States Government will hold the Government of the Soviet Union responsible for any interference with the safety of these aircraft in the corridors.

The Government of the USSR in its note accuses the Western Powers of violating the Four-Power Agreements of 1945. In particular, it reproaches them for their "connivance at the interference of the authorities of the Federal Republic of Germany in the affairs of West Berlin and at the use of the territory of the city for international provocations...," and insists "that the Government of the U.S.A., which at present exercises occupation functions in West Berlin, take steps to stop the illegal and provocative actions of the Federal Republic of Germany in that city."

This demand is at the very least surprising. Indeed, since the night of August 12 to 13 the authorities of East Germany, with the concurrence of the Soviet Union, as the note of the Soviet Government dated August 18 attests, have not ceased taking unilateral measures which do precisely violate the Four-Power agreements and the freedom of movement within the city of Berlin. First they erected barricades, strengthened from day to day, to stop the traffic from East to West, in order, in fact, to put an end to the increasing exodus of refugees. For some days the same authorities have been attempting to establish unilateral and arbitrary control over access to East Berlin by the inhabitants of West Berlin and the Federal Republic of Germany. And they have just limited to a single point the possibilities of movement of the Allies from West to East. Moreover, the inhabitants of East Berlin who worked in West Berlin have been denied the pursuit of their occupations. If there are "illegal and provocative actions", they are certainly those of the authorities of East Germany in taking such measures. As the United States note delivered to the Soviet Government on July 17 stated, if there is a crisis in Berlin, it is certainly the doing of the Soviet Union. Did not the number of refugees increase considerably from the day on which the Soviet Government made apparent the imminence of the implementation of its plan for a separate "peace treaty" and a "free city"?

The Soviet Government protests against the presence in West Berlin of personalities from the Federal Republic, such as, for example: "Mr. Gerstenmaier, the President of the Bundestag of the Federal Republic of Germany; Mr. Krone, the Chairman of the CDU/CSU Bundestag fraction; Mr. Ollenhauer, the President of the SPD, Mr. Mende, President of the FDP, and others. The United States Government does not understand the position of the Soviet Government. West Berlin has a wide variety of ties with the Federal Republic that are in no way incompatible with the Four-Power status of Berlin. These accusations are all the more inadmissible since, for a long time and even quite recently, the Soviet Union as well as the East German authorities have been trying to integrate East Berlin completely into East Germany by isolating it from the outside and attempting to make it the capital of East Germany.

The fundamental fact is that the whole of Berlin has a quadripartite status. The United States Government notes that the Soviet Government explicitely recognizes the rights and responsibilities of the Western Powers in Berlin. Unlike the Soviet Government, the Western Powers have always taken great care to see that the special status of the city as a whole is protected and preserved in accordance with Four Power Agreements. The Western Powers have established through procedures and safeguards for this purpose and the Soviet Government is well aware of this. The United States is willing as always to consider any legitimate complaints which the Soviet Union may put forward, but the allegations in the Soviet note are false.

Accordingly, it is up to the Soviet Union and not the United States to take measures to allay the state of tension and unrest which has developed in Berlin. The whole world will be concerned at the scarcely veiled threat of aggression against the Allied air routes to and from West Berlin. The United States must serve a solemn warning to the Soviet Union that interference by the Soviet Government or its East German regime with free access to Berlin would have the most serious consequences for which it would bear full responsibility.

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